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539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Mazití.

778 826 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following way: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

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Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

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Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

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/230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

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563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráídjá," they say that no yvyráídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

/56 cont./

436 From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní
829 have an interesting attitude toward money (pirê, peráta: pirápirê,
177 paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retá guatsú,
192 big eyes, for the large notes, and retá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign
436 to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no
829 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture
177 corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once
454 told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/,
423 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs
171 /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

/57 cont./

423 [191] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 476 171 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbũá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aßomoóßa as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

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adult, has long since been participating in all the collective prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves, which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba fruits (mbokadjá).

Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar /Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies, and participating in them, but also because these prayers are often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children a few years old sing them alone.

The attitude toward education changes visibly with the advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations. Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction, stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

2: Schaden--84 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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829 87 177 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in order that their son could keep company with the scholastic group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. [171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children [171] were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 [596] The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an 15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station: they tore out the poles

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
• [829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

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2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the ini-
tiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases
it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father,
who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the
girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it
is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the
marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who
is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion
in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.--4 Among the reasons
[584] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of
Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically
incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of
Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his
own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

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582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al- 601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the new generation already "does not know the language straight" [829] and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifices: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

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585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife: the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times: the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [293] [574] [197] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha: nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage: I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 [585] [114] [115]

178 581 596 586 /79 cont./ survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [551] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidoraý," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] [591] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

2: Schaden--95 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

612 621 [829] /80 cont./
lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 612 59 [178] In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 178 [423] Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence. In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 241 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

2: Schaden--101 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

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The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

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Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékóakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

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881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

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881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambaí.

[756] Preliminarily the fiandéru chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjekóaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the fiandéru orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the fiandéru lets them go, it is the fiandéru who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [884] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/103 cont./ It is therefore not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão. They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá. While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão" of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

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782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [776] • [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

[192]

782 778 621

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
776 protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
787 It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
424 substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

/128 cont./

754 123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 829 [782] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil," called fieẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the [533] harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, called fiembóévaí or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.

[782] The Kayová also use the name fieẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxỹ for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohã vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [791] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one 764 [114] could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying 764 178 out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the chil- [782] dren they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's ex- [793] planation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

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771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moãtendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized [829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
851 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
● [829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

/144 cont./

771 177 178 [182] [184] evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate [669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/. [787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 796 177 • 829 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous attempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the [184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a fiemongaraſ, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 796 177 829 [782] [154] refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pieta, the piercing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason). Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators; on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitionism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for compensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority that seizes them before a stranger.

771 177 178 [621] One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new elements in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that families belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrinations and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 177 159 156 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949 among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová religion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connection between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of the region and other elements of the civilized world.

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[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [780] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in [775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/154 cont./
534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãkuã ſ, with a string of pindó ryvſ (twisted). Without blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth: the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing, the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ſ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ſ djáretá
• 829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[1076] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic: there is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, because they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ſ would have been used formerly by the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e., the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation," stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, interesting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride: to acquire an accordion is the impossible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain singing of three centuries ago.

2: Schaden--198 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

539 179 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many people.

538 167 182 [829] It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxý.

2: Schaden--215 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Ñandéva

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

791 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
• 829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

791 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderyke'y,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

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183 771 772 648 [796] [124] [828] destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú [184] [782] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way, the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the [124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds • [829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] [182] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyráídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

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77 182 829 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 177 182 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colonists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 182 829 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

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/174 cont./ the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

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The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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